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CHANCE OF GENUINE OPPOSITION ?

Labour's rigid discipline opposed

FROM A CORRESPONDENT

THE standing orders that enforce rigid discipline in the British Parliamentary Labour Party are again under fire.

Urgent consideration of the need to suspend them was called for on Monday in a letter to Party Secretary Morgan Phillips signed by 10 Labour MPs. Among the signatories were Emrys Hughes, Frank Allaun and Marcus Lipton.

Another group, which includes Richard Crossman, is reported to be intending to raise the issue at an early meeting of the Parliamentary Party.

Effect of arms debate

Standing orders were suspended as unnecessary after Labour's huge majority in 1945. They were reimposed in 1952, after 57 "Bevanites" voted against the Party line in an arms debate.

Since then it has been impossible to offer effective opposition to the Party line, as MPs have had to accept decisions of the Parliamentary Party meeting.

Abstention from voting on "matters of deeply held personal conscientious conviction" was offered as the only "concession."

INDIA AND CHINA

End of the two-Bloc myth

THE facts are simple enough. Fairly soon after the Tibetan troubles, the Chinese began to lay claims to great areas of land which had for a long time been considered a part of India. As a result of these claims there have been several clashes around the Tibetan-Indian border, one on Oct. 21, resulting in the death of nine Indian border policemen.

Because we still have no accurate news of what is happening in the disputed areas, and because we do not know very much about what is happening inside China, it is difficult to give these facts any satisfactory interpretation. However, we do know enough to reach tentative conclusions about some things, and to know what kind of questions to ask about others.

THE first conclusion is a very obvious one. The belief that the world is divided into two monolithic blocs, the Communist and the non-Communist, is now a complete fantasy. Mr. Khrushchev has given the Chinese actions no support. Since the Chinese have the least to gain from a rapprochement between the Soviet Union and the United States, Mr. Khrushchev may well feel that the Chinese are actively trying to sabotage his efforts. It is also worth nothing that at the same time as this is happening, Dr. Adenauer and General de Gaulle are opposing British and American efforts to get an early "Summit" conference.

It seems clear that one of the reasons for the Chinese action is to try to prevent an agreement between Russia and America. (Further pointers are provided by reports that Mr. Khrushchev has become so

unpopular with the Chinese that clowns made to look like him are beaten by Chinese soldiers in Tibet.)

It is not clear if there are any other reasons. What, for instance, is the internal set-up of China like? Are the Chinese leaders using external adventures as a way of diverting their people's attention from internal problems? Or are there divisions among the Communist leaders?

Even if the Chinese actions can be explained solely in terms of opposition to Mr. Khrushchev's policy, their particular way of expressing their opposition seems, to say the least, unwise. India has been a consistent supporter of China, particularly in regard to its admission into the United Nations. And except in regard to Pakistan, Indian foreign policy has been generally pacific. The Chinese claims on Indian territory, and the resulting incidents, have only helped to harden opinion against China. This irrationality suggests that the Chinese leaders feel themselves under great pressures of some kind.

THE final lesson is one specially for pacifists. For too long Western pacifists have been starry-eyed about India. It has been clear for a long time that for all Mr. Nehru's good sense, India is a power state which operates on the traditional principles of such organisations. The war-like attitudes adopted by Indian socialists and students (and the equivocal attitude of many of Gandhi's followers to Indian armaments—discussed in an article on p. 6) shows that some Indians have moved far away from Gandhi's philosophy. In any estimate of the Chinese-Indian situation pacifists should be particularly careful to be realistic about India.

See also "In Perspective"—page four;
"Arms and the Gandhians"—page six.

AMERICA PLANNED 9 A-BOMB INVASION OF JAPAN—Gen. Marshall

Peace News Reporter

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Even after that there was no clear-cut plan as to how to use the new weapon.

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The interviews were given by the General in 1954 and 1955 on condition that they

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Since then it has been impossible to offer effective opposition to the Party line, as MPs have had to accept decisions of the Parliamentary Party meeting.

Abstention from voting on "matters of deeply held personal conscientious conviction" was offered as the only "concession," but this clearly did not allow opposition.

Labour Council groups and Constituency Parties throughout the country enforce similar discipline. Expulsions of members who refused to abide by majority decisions have been frequent.

The Liberal and Conservative Parliamentary Parties have no standing orders.

SAHARA PROTEST

A STUDENT group in West Berlin are making plans for demonstrations at the French Cultural Centre and the French Embassy in support of the Sahara atom-test action. War resisters in Hamburg are also to organise demonstrations when the international team attempts to cross into French territory from Ghana.

The European Federation against Nuclear Arms has sent a letter to Governments and communities in Africa drawing their attention to the hazards and dangers linked with the impending atomic tests to be carried out in the Sahara. The full text of the letter is published in this month's Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament Bulletin, obtainable for an annual subscription of 5s. from 143 Fleet Street, London, E.C.4.

As reported in PN last week, demonstrators are assembling in Accra in preparation for the desert trek north to Reggan, where they plan a non-violent entry into the testing area.

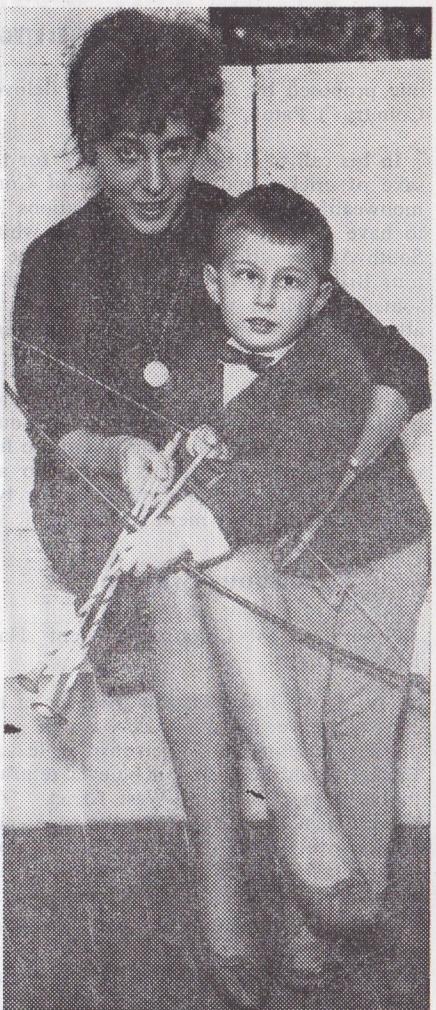
Picture right shows Sahara protest team-member Madame Esther Peter and her son last week before leaving for Ghana.

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Peace News Reporter

would not be published until after his death. He died on October 16.

"When we got the Bombs," said the General, ". . . I heard all kinds of discussions on how we should use the first one.

"Some wanted to drop it in the sea off Japan. But we didn't know how it would work in the water. It might be a dud or get out of control. We just didn't know."

The USA only had two atom bombs at the time of the 1945 atomic attack, General Marshall added.

Until the awesome power of the Bomb became known, it had been planned to use nine of them in an invasion of Japan, which had been set for September 23. Japan in fact surrendered on August 14.

Churchill's casualties

Six of the Bombs were to be used in the initial attack, and it was planned to use the other three against Japanese reserves.

"Churchill estimated that we would sustain 500,000 casualties."

"We didn't want the theatre commanders to get too optimistic about the new weapon," said the American General, "so we didn't tell them about the Bomb until the last minute."

"There was constant squabbling between the Navy and the Army during the war . . . Until we (the Army) saw what the atomic bomb could do, we were convinced that we would have to go in after them" (i.e., invade Japan).

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OXFORD CND FINED £10

THE Oxford University Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament has been fined £10 for a technical infringement of the University rules.

The secretary of the Campaign, Miss Frances Kaldor, states that the Campaign has also been warned that it will be suspended if it commits any further offences.

Commenting on Sunday on the Proctors' actions, the chairman of the Oxford Campaign, Mr. Geoffrey Cannon, said: "Every other University in Britain is allowed to do what we are forbidden, that is march and canvass. We are now a Campaign that cannot campaign."

The Campaign is one of the biggest undergraduate organisations in the University. It has over 1,000 members.

The proctors' instructions will mean that the march to the United States nuclear air base at Brize Norton, which the University campaign had planned for later this term, will not now take place.

Support for South Africa boycott

THE Oxford University Labour Club has decided to support the boycott of South African goods, which was launched by the South African Congress movement earlier this year.

"We felt that this would be the most effective form of protest against apartheid . . . the South African students here do not like it at all," said a member of the club's committee earlier in the week.

The University Joint Action Committee Against Racial Intolerance has called a meeting of the 44 clubs that support it to consider support for the boycott.

In a letter to The Guardian about the boycott, a correspondent wrote: "In Hampstead, where I live, quite a number of people are already refraining from buying South African produce; so much so that one grocer informs me he has switched to stocking mainly Australian tinned foods."

Year One of the new dark ages

R. W. THOMPSON reviews JAMES CAMERON'S new book, "1914" (Cassell 21s.)

WITH this book James Cameron has set up a signpost at the point of entry into the wilderness of the years since 1914. It may be that in that year a new "dark ages" began, and there is as yet no small glimmer of light promising the end. We do not know where we are; whether we are in the midst of it, nearing the end, or still blundering, bewildered, dishonest and beset by fear, in the ante chamber.

When this "dark age" got under way James Cameron was three years old. The fact lends a quality of nostalgia to the book which it might have lacked otherwise. He was, in fact, "there." He is a man "remembering," not consciously aware through his own eyes, ears and senses, but through his parents and friends. He was in those streets, hearing those words and sounds, drinking life into a brand new vessel, and little of importance if never consciously "remembered" is ever forgotten.

Inevitably in such a book the omissions must outnumber the inclusions, and it is not criticism to lament the omission of Horatio Bottomley, that flamboyant demagogue, putting the words to the pointing finger of Kitchener from the posters, pointing at YOU. Bottomley was the spokesman of the vulgar, illiterate, increasingly rich middle class, whose modern counterparts have screamed hatred at all critics of Suez, Cyprus, Hola, flogging, hanging and the like.

Perhaps because he has left out Bottomley, Cameron has tended to under-estimate the intense bitterness in the early days. If any ordinary man believed that it would be a long war it was dangerous to say so, or to defend an old friend with a foreign sounding name, or a Jewish family.

The underlying hatred and fear was deeper and longer sustained than at the time of Suez. It lasted until the profits began to come in, bigger than ever, and the traders adjusted to the conditions of war.

Cameron is not lacking in bitterness and irony, but it is always relieved by his com-

The reviewer, a student of military strategy, contributed in 1957 to the Peace News forum on Commander Sir Stephen King-Hall's proposal for unarmed defence. He has spent much of his life travelling and writing and served as war correspondent from 1944-45 and again during the Korean war. He regards his best books as "Cry Korea", "Land of Tomorrow", and "The Pink House in Angel Street". Two volumes, "The Eighty-five Days" and "The Battle for the Rhineland," of a three-volume history of the campaign in North-West Europe, in which he tried to relate Grand Strategy to the ordinary soldier, have already been published by Hutchinson.



James Cameron

passion and sincerity. He is as dedicated to finding his way through "this dreary

human muddle of trumped-up doom" (he quotes Rilke's words) as were Mrs. Pankhurst and Emmeline Davidson to "Votes for Women." The impact of Mrs. Davidson suffering torture in her cell, and dying under the hoofs of the King's horse at Epsom left a mark on his consciousness. But nothing, it seemed, in that last high summer could disturb a generation born to pleasure and a gentle easy gaiety. Life was like a lazy river flowing between banks sweet with honeysuckle and wild rose, the world in its punt enjoying a kind of perpetual Henley regatta. But the winter was upon us.

Cameron gives us this picture of the Foreign Secretary "on the eve":

"As dusk fell Sir Edward Grey, bent with exhaustion, stood at the window of his room in the Foreign Office with J. A. Spender of the Westminster Gazette. He watched summer's evening dissolve into London's evening dimness, and he said: 'The lamps are going out all over Europe. We shall not see them lit again in our time.'"

It was an under-statement. Many still think in the obsolete terms of the 19th century, and until there is an end to that there will be little hope.

Cameron filters certain salient features of that "last" year through his highly perceptive and sensitive mind, and distils the essence for us in language that is simple, often vivid, always honest and immensely readable. His choice of quotes, mainly

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from the Editorials of liberals, are wholly admirable, for there were gleams of sanity then, as now. As a journalist Cameron is the inheritor of the torch of "A.G.G." and the liberals, but no man ever carried the torch more bravely or dared to peer with it into more dark corners of the world we live in.

But his book is the book of a writer, not a journalist. His brief account of the first year of war is masterly, and few military historians could hope to better his clear exposition of the military situation. On the home front I doubt whether he quite appreciates the astounding abilities of Lloyd George, but in 1914 these were yet to come.

But I want to recommend this book unconditionally. If we, the people, are ever to know anything about the world we live in we must rely on the "Camerons," the brave translators, and guides through the increasing labyrinths of "facts." Science and philosophy have become almost unintelligible to the common man. History is in danger of becoming equally out of reach. Cameron is performing a vital service.

Alan Paton urges—boycott S. African test team

THESE international stars of the theatre. They come to South Africa, clean up a packet of cash on tour—and break the rules of their union, Equity, which, I understand, deplores audience discrimination.

One performer who has shown more guts than most in this matter is Spanish dancer

BASIL DELAINE'S

South Africa, "was proof which supported the Government's action."

And with this gallant little speech—which apparently seals the fate of a young man who was careless enough to be born

any ordinary man believed that it would be a long war it was dangerous to say so, or to defend an old friend with a foreign sounding name, or a Jewish family name.

The underlying hatred and fear was deeper and longer sustained than at the time of Suez. It lasted until the profits began to come in, bigger than ever, and the traders adjusted to the conditions of war.

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One performer who has shown more guts than most in this matter is Spanish dancer Antonio.

He apparently didn't know that only whites could see his show, until a group of Coloureds demonstrated with placards outside a Cape Town theatre.

Antonio immediately slammed at the colour bar in interviews with South African journalists. He followed this up with another full-blooded attack on his return to England the other day.

At London Airport, according to press reports reaching South Africa, he told newsmen that he would try to get Equity to ban all artistes from appearing here until the segregation laws are changed.

It's a pity other artistes who come to South Africa for a bit of easy money and a look at the sun don't make similar protests.

During the past year I have interviewed glamour girl Diana Dors, trumpeter Eddie Calvert, and actress Glynis Johns. They each gave me a garbled excuse as to why they would not perform for non-whites. None expressed any concern that non-whites could not join white audiences.

A British ban

What with journalist Henry Barzilay being deported from the Union for merely doing his job, and young Coloured Student Hans Beukes having to *escape* from his own country because the Government refused him a passport, a British ban on entertainers appearing here might put some sense into the warped minds of the "apartheid" cranks who run (and ruin) this country.

Another ban that takes my fancy is the

South Africa, "was proof which supported the Government's action."

And with this gallant little speech—which apparently seals the fate of a young man who was careless enough to be born Coloured—the inspired Mr. Botha earned a big hand of applause from the spiritually and mentally solid white citizens he was addressing.

Meanwhile, in the "Golden City"—Johannesburg is probably the richest city of its size in the world—hundreds of African families are still sleeping on top of bricks and dust which were once their homes. Each day in Sophiatown the bulldozers go into action. Each night another family or so become homeless.

These families—you can just imagine how scared and bewildered the kids are—suffer incredible hardship. Not only are they homeless, but once they are without four walls they become liable to arrest.

The Johannesburg City Council refuses to help them. So does the Government, which has ordered the demolition.

I wonder what would happen if these homeless families had names like Jones, Van der Merwe or Isaacs...

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PEOPLE AND PLACES

ALARMS AND EXCURSIONS

IN Ghana the protest against French nuclear tests in the Sahara is taking shape.

The first British men out there for the project, Michael Randle and Francis Hoyland, report very widespread interest and feeling on the subject. "If you hadn't have come here," one Ghanaian said to them, "it would have been finish with Britain."

Michael Randle comments: "We have almost become unofficial ambassadors for radical Britain."

The British pair are being given hospitality by Walter Birmingham and his wife, a Quaker couple at Legon University, near Accra. They have also been given practical help by Philip and Eliza Wilcox, an English couple who have crossed the Sahara from Morocco to Ghana by Land Rover, and are at present living in Ghana.

The day they arrived in Accra from London the Britons were rushed off to the final session of the All-African Peoples' Conference Steering Committee, at which a resolution was passed calling on all governments to stop the testing of nuclear weapons and to dismantle all stocks. The resolution also expressed support for "Africans and humanists" protesting against the French tests.

Two films the British pair took with them to be shown are "The Japanese Fishermen" and "March to Aldermaston."

For their part, the Ghana Council for Nuclear Disarmament have put at the disposal of the protest team a private Daimler car—and chauffeur.

ATTENTION PLEASE



FROM time to time as necessary the BBC radio programme is interrupted with the phrase "Attention all shipping," and no doubt the ships concerned take the necessary precautions in view of the anticipated gale.

A former colonel in the British Army, Michael L. Howard is Chairman of the London Region Council of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. He is known to thousands of campaigners as chief marshall of the two Aldermaston Marches.

conference and "aims to keep most of the time for discussion from the floor."



Questions that will be raised are varied and crucial, as the following show. What has CND achieved? Do we wait for another Election? What about NATO and the American Alliance? Will the arms race continue? What action does the new situation demand?

Michael L. Howard, Chairman of the Council, tells me that he looks on this conference as being "a sounding-board for the whole London Region."

Anyone who can get to Friends House by 10 a.m. tomorrow shouldn't miss the opportunity—I shall be in that queue at the doors too.

ANOTHER ESCAPIST

INTO the continuing post-mortem on the Left in Britain comes a concrete rank-and-file conference.

The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament supporters who meet in London tomorrow (Saturday) can expect a rewarding day's discussion.

A very full programme has been arranged by the CND's London Region Council which called this "emergency"

So Lieutenant-Colonel Schmükle took to racing around the city on an old bike. This was too much for the worthy citizens of Bonn, so the Federation of Taxpayers bought him a brand new bicycle, complete with three-speed gearbox.

Now, when his life work comes to fruition and he is given 10 minutes' warning before the Final Evacuation, he might be able to get four miles.

QUOTE

"If we continue at this leisurely pace, we will have to pass Russian Customs when we land on the moon."—Dr. Werner von Braun, former director of the operations division of the US Army Ballistic Missile Agency at Redstone, Alabama.

And a little more money for missiles will also enable the US to pass that Russian custom of proposing total disarmament every 30 years.

—Phyz

'Observer' article nets £3,000 for Dolci

THE British Danilo Dolci Committee received £3,000 in nine days as a result of an appeal for their work written into the last paragraph of Wayland Young's review of Danilo Dolci's book "To Feed the Hungry" in The Observer of October 4.

By Sybil Morrison

Wisdom not weapons

If Israel were to totally disarm what would prevent Nasser from occupying the country which, according to his own statements, he believes should rightly belong to the Arabs? Hyde Park questioner, Oct. 25, 1959.

Wisdom is better than weapons of war.—Ecclesiastes, IX, 18.

THIS question is based upon a number of assumptions which may, or may not, be true, so before considering the pacifist point of view, it is well to look at these assumptions.

The first, of course, and perhaps the most important, is the assumption that but for Israel's army Nasser would immediately invade and is only held back by fear of defeat. This is highly conjectural, since he must know that a war between Egypt and Israel could not possibly remain local and might easily spread to a world war, for which he could not, however Machiavellian he may be, risk responsibility.

The second assumption is that there could be in the present situation circumstances in which Israel suddenly laid down all her arms. This could only happen in surrender to attack, or for reasons of expediency.

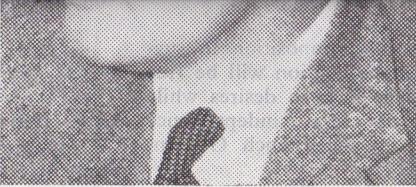
Clearly these two situations cannot be assumed, and therefore the question must be answered within the context of an entirely hypothetical situation. It must be assumed that the Israeli Government and the Israelis have become convinced of the rightness and the morality of pacifism; that this has been made known to the world and that they have destroyed all their armaments and demobilised their armies, not for any reasons of expediency, but because they have renounced the evil of war and war preparations.



This would be an act that must have a far-reaching effect upon the conscience of the world. It is highly unlikely that a very small personality with a very small military power would instantly flout that conscience by marching into a country which had totally disarmed on moral grounds. That Nasser should placate and please the Arabs at the expense of offending and angering the rest of the world is as questionable an

and "March to Aldermaston."

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ATTENTION PLEASE



FROM time to time as necessary the BBC radio programme is interrupted with the phrase "Attention all shipping," and no doubt the ships concerned take the necessary precautions in view of the anticipated gale.

I want to interrupt your reading of Peace News with a similar warning. Attention all readers—to the state of the Peace Pledge Union's Headquarters Fund.

The total of £1,250 was allocated to the PPU Headquarters Fund in the estimates of income approved by the annual meeting. This was due to the fact that the PPU Headquarters Fund raised that amount in 1958 and has never yet failed to reach the total allocated to it. It is therefore disturbing to find that the Fund is so much behind that proportion of the total which should have been reached by now. And that in spite of some urgent and special appeals, like that made on October 16, which I had hoped would at least bring the Fund up to average, PPU Members have not taken so much notice of the appeal in Peace News as readers of The Times have taken of the letter printed in its columns on October 16.

Sometime or another you have sent in the card which Dick Sheppard approved 25 years ago. I know that many of you have also sent in subscriptions and donations on many occasions since then, and we are grateful for that help. Nevertheless, I am again appealing to every member to commemorate the sending in of the pledge-card by some gift to the PPU Headquarters Fund, however small. Attention all members, please!

STUART MORRIS,
General Secretary.

Our aim for the year: £1,250.

Amount received to date: £652.

Donations to the Peace Pledge Union, which are used for the work of the PPU, should be sent marked "Headquarters Fund," to the PPU Treasurer at Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., London, W.C.I.

A former colonel in the British Army, Michael L. Howard is Chairman of the London Region Council of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. He is known to thousands of campaigners as chief marshall of the two Aldermaston Marches.

conference and "aims to keep most of the time for discussion from the floor."

"It seems," says the Region's Vice-Chairman, Michael Craft, "that much will now depend on the Campaign's next move, and in this sense the conference might be very important.

"There seems no doubt," he adds, "that for the CND the situation is a quite new one."

'Observer' article nets £3,000 for Dolci

THE British Danilo Dolci Committee received £3,000 in nine days as a result of an appeal for their work written into the last paragraph of Wayland Young's review of Danilo Dolci's book "To Feed the Hungry" in The Observer of October 4.

Robin Dixon, Secretary of the National Peace Council, which sponsored the Danilo Dolci Committee through its United World Trust, gave this news to a NPC meeting recently.

The total the Committee has now raised has been swollen by The Observer appeal to £4,600.

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rightness and the morality of pacifism; that this has been made known to the world and that they have destroyed all their armaments and demobilised their armies, not for any reasons of expediency, but because they have renounced the evil of war and war preparations.



This would be an act that must have a far-reaching effect upon the conscience of the world. It is highly unlikely that a very small personality with a very small military power would instantly flout that conscience by marching into a country which had totally disarmed on moral grounds. That Nasser should placate and please the Arabs at the expense of offending and angering the rest of the world is as questionable an assumption as all the other assumptions involved in this problem.

Where a pacifist principle is concerned, assumptions and consequences are not to be ignored, but, nevertheless, are irrelevant. In war people suffer terrible disasters; they sacrifice their lives and the lives of others; they are imprisoned, maimed, blinded and bereaved; this is war and is accepted as a necessary part of it.

To renounce war might mean equal suffering; it might be that people would be imprisoned, driven from their homes, tortured or executed; pacifism is not a panacea against suffering, but willingness to suffer would be as strong as willingness to suffer in war; the great and shining difference would be the refusal to inflict suffering.

Only a nation of people overwhelmingly convinced that this is the only right and true way whatever the consequences, either could or should lay down their arms. That Israel might have given this lead to the world and has failed to do so is one of the tragedies brought about by national pride.

Through centuries the Jewish race has been pursued and persecuted, largely by so-called Christians; through centuries, in spite of pogroms and oppressions, they have persisted without taking up arms against their enemies. It was a Jewish preacher who said that wisdom was better than weapons; it was a Jew who said: "Love your enemies . . . do good to them that hate you . . . pray for them which despitefully use you and persecute you."

It might, indeed should have been, the Jewish race who, when they entered into their long desired national home, showed the world that this Golden rule could work. The wisdom of their preachers and prophets could have made of modern Israel a great peace-loving nation, courageous in its willingness to suffer, in its certainty of victory without violence, and proud, not in its nationalism, but in its pacifism—an example not only to Christendom but to the whole world.

The Laos report

WITH Tibet and the latest Chinese-Indian trouble in the Ladakh border region absorbing most attention paid to news from Asia, two reports regarding Laos have passed almost unnoticed.

First: the Security Council's special sub-committee consisting of Argentina, Italy, Japan and Tunisia, which had sent a group of investigators into the Samneua region of Laos, the centre of alleged Vietnamese aggression, has found no evidence that North Vietnam forces had invaded Laos, and no proof that any North Vietnamese were involved in the Laotian fighting. All they had found was that the North Vietnam Government had apparently furnished water and certain supplies "believed to be small arms and uniforms" to the rebellious Laotians.

It is a far cry from that to a situation which could have justified the shady expedient in the Security Council of declaring the Laotian issue to be a merely procedural matter, so that this sub-committee could be appointed instead of recalling the three-power International Control Commission set up in 1954 under the Geneva Agreement, as demanded by Russia.

For those who have forgotten the facts, let it be recalled that Poland, a pro-Communist Power, was a member of the 1954 commission. There was no pro-Communist friend in the sub-committee. Even so, the presentation by the Laotian Government of its troubles as due to external aggression and not to internal discontent is now exploded. It should set its own house in order.

The second item of news about Laos, coming from French sources was to the effect that the health of King Sisavang Vong had suddenly deteriorated so seriously that a French doctor with equipment for blood transfusion had been called in, and that "a fatal issue must be feared." If that should happen, the internal struggle might well become fiercely intensified.

Cyprus

IN the joint statement issued by Archbishop Makarios and General Grivas after their recent meeting in Rhodes, no mention was made of the differences which had appeared to separate them. It is clear, writes Christopher Lake, that they both realise that a great effort must be made to preserve the unity of the Greek Cypriots at this critical period.

They know that the Greek Cypriots must present a united front if they are to resist the more excessive demands of the Turks (concerning the vice-president's powers) and the British (concerning the extent of the bases).

If, however, the new republic is to make a good start on February 19, 1960, it is essential that not only the Greeks but all sections of the population should co-operate in a spirit of goodwill, and it is, therefore, very much to be regretted that Archbishop Makarios has been forced by public opinion to suspend the constitutional talks as a protest against the alleged smuggling of arms by the

legacy of distrust throughout the island and everyone is only too ready to suspect the intentions of others.

It is particularly unfortunate that the British Government should be contributing to this unhappy atmosphere by continuing to ban the powerful Left-wing AKEL Party and various associated organisations and newspapers, and thus do much to alienate the goodwill of that section of the community which probably realises better than any other the great need for real co-operation if Cyprus is to have a happier future.

Algerian talks

IN his presentation of the French Government's proposals for cease fire talks with the Algerian leaders, M. Debré said that these talks must be confined to the military aspect. But it is not reasonable to imagine that this limitation can be taken literally, for the talks have become a possibility only because General de Gaulle has suggested them as the first step to lead to an act of self-determination. The Algerian people are to have a right of choice as between three future possibilities, including independence subject to certain provisions which will need to be defined later.

There are certain matters that will have to be examined in addition to the immediate provisions for a cease fire. These include the future status as citizens in Algeria of the members of the FLN and the GPRA (the Algerian Government in exile); and what kind of guarantee can be offered that the French army in Algeria will not be used to assist in forcing a choice on the Algerian people that they would not freely make. Moreover, even if there can be no discussion at this stage of the precise character of the partition measures that General de Gaulle regards as necessary should the choice be for independence, there must surely be consideration of how a negotiating body genuinely representative of Algerians is to be constructed in order to deal with this matter when the time comes.

It would be an impossible proposition to suggest that the Algerian population will be free to choose independence if it so desires while the interpretation of what independence means is to be left to the French Government.

Both the French Government and the Algerian leaders are approaching the possibility of cease fire talks with much circumspection. Neither side wants to appear in an unsatisfactory light when the matter is discussed in the coming UN debate. It is probable that some cautious unofficial soundings are going on between the two sides. What M. Ferhat Abbas, Head of the Government in exile, was doing in Rome on Thursday last week is an interesting field for conjecture.

IN PERSPECTIVE

and this refusal was at the request of the French Government. It is apparent that the French Government no longer requires that this prohibition shall obtain.

China, Tibet . . .

IN comparison with the latest Chinese-Indian incident, in which nine Indian border police were killed by Chinese troops operating across the Tibetan-Indian border, the other news about Tibet is worth considering mainly as a reflection on United Nations methods.

Last week attention was called here to the family resemblance between the Security Council veto and abstention from voting in the General Assembly, with its debilitating effects on United Nations prestige and authority.

But in the matter of the Malayan-Irish attempt to pillory China for her brutality in Tibet the necessary two-thirds majority was actually obtained—at the cost however of so wording the resolution that it can well be described as fairly innocuous.

Had it been otherwise, the two-thirds majority would have been in doubt. China was not even mentioned in the resolution, which was a model of pious generalisation. Even so, Sir Pierson Dixon, speaking for Britain, announced that he would "reluctantly" be among the abstainers on account of doubts whether Article II (vii) applied to the situation.

If Britain was to abstain from voting on this admittedly difficult occasion its spokesman could well have advanced a far weightier reason, which would also have stood in proof of courageous honesty and realistic statesmanship. He could have said that the situation brought out forcibly the need of Republican China's presence and representation in the General Assembly and the Security Council; and that he would not vote for a resolution against which the country implicated was not present to defend her case.

As matters stand, a resolution in carefully generalised terms meant for, but not even directly mentioning, a Power arbitrarily and foolishly kept out of the United Nations is not likely to prove of much practical value. On the contrary, it seems to show up United Nations weakness and the less praiseworthy aspects of attitudes struck there on occasion.

. . . and India

MR. NEHRU'S declaration that the situation produced by the Ladakh shooting is grave is no exaggeration; and it is rendered even more serious by the fact that the Chinese troops were apparently equipped with mortars—which no one can mistake for the normal armament of frontier-guarding patrols.

Having swallowed up Tibet, the Chinese now seem bent (at least) on one-sidedly rectifying the ill-defined frontier line between Tibet and India. How will the United Nations deal with this new danger to world peace after its pusillanimous handling of the Malayan-Irish resolution?

In other circumstances the quick improvement now brought about in the relations between India and Pakistan would

THE Jewish Peace Society is convinced that the continued manufacture and testing of destructive weapons such as the hydrogen bomb which are capable of destroying masses of human beings at the press of a button is a crime against God and man.

We are further convinced, by the evidence of eminent scientists, that the testing of such weapons can cause incalculable harm to unborn generations.

Accordingly, we believe that no government should make or test such weapons either now or in the future.—**ISRAEL BRODIE**, Chief Rabbi (President); (Prof.) **NORMAN BENTWICH** (Chairman); (Rev.) **SAUL AMIAS** (Hon. Treasurer); (Rev.) **JOSEPH HALPERN**; **HUGH HARRIS**; (Rev.) Dr. **HAROLD F. REINHART**; **DESMOND J. TRENNER** (Hon. Secretary), Jewish Peace Society, 1, Essex Court, Temple, London, E.C.4.

Petition to Archbishop

OVER 50 newspapers have been informed that 20,000 men and women have petitioned the Archbishop of Canterbury to denounce nuclear weapon tests and to demand that Britain should carry out no further such tests. We should be grateful if your readers who notice our letter in their local papers would let us know of its publication.

Now, when canvassing for further signatures in busy city and suburban areas, we wear posters reading "20,000 Petition Archbishop of Canterbury to Denounce H-bomb Tests" and "H-bomb Tests—Will The Archbishop of Canterbury Speak?"

Two and a half years of personal canvassing for this petition have convinced us that it is only the **moral** challenge to nuclear weapon tests which provides a platform for the challenge to all methods of warfare.

Important though it is to demonstrate our pacifist convictions, it is essential that the "man in the street" be given the chance to confess his doubts and fears, his faith and hopes, and be met with answers on ground of his own choosing. Public meetings have their undeniable value, but experience has taught us that there is still a great harvest of human aspiration and courage to be reaped on city pavements.—**AILEEN HALLSWORTH, HELENA SHERLOCK**, 9 Alan Rd., Withington, Manchester, 20.

The Khrushchev proposals

WE have always complained of the

LETTERS

the Russian proposals will occupy world attention within weeks, and are much more far-reaching than unilateral disarmament.

I could criticise many articles in PN during the last month, which from any angle are worthless to most readers (e.g., Christopher Farley's review of "The Jazz Scene").

Is there no recognition by the pacifist press (for PN is not alone in its boycott) in the stupendous opportunity of getting far more than we had ever hoped to get. Maybe the Russian proposals will fail when they come up against great vested interests in colonialism and armaments. But what is the reason for pacifists being so guiltily silent?—**FRANK R. HANCOCK**, "Gabriels," Stonebarrow Lane, Charmouth, Dorset.

It would be more helpful if Frank Hancock would explain why he objects to our comments on Mr. Khrushchev's proposal, rather than dismiss them with a smear. We would also welcome his criticisms. Why is Christopher Farley's review "worthless to most readers"? We feel that a concern for the arts is central to pacifism. (Tolstoy might have supported us on this.)—ED.

ALAN LOVELL reviews "Serjeant Musgrave's Dance," a play by John Arden now running at the Royal Court Theatre, London.

The case for anarchy

A SERJEANT and three private soldiers come to a northern mining town in the late nineteenth century. The miners are on strike and everybody who sees the soldiers thinks they have come to help break it. In fact, the soldiers are deserters who have come on an anti-war crusade. When the serjeant holds what everybody thinks is to be a recruiting campaign, he uses it as an opportunity to preach a sermon on the foolishness of war.



John Arden's new play makes an exciting imaginative challenge. Its theme is militarism and anti-militarism. It is no use opposing war, says Arden, in the spirit and by the methods which are used to wage it. If you do the results will be very much the

"Forum against 'em"

I WAS interested to read in your issue of October 23 a paragraph on the Congress of Cultural Freedom. Your description of "Forum" has confirmed suspicions which have been growing for some time.

"Encounter" is now, I should say, well to the right of Right. Peace News readers will find the July issue well worth while for this contains what must surely be a Rightest's declaration on war and peace.

I refer, of course, to "Anti-American Zoo" by Constantine FitzGibbon.

I wish you could give me space to quote at length, but in fairness (to you) one gem must surely be allowed a spark.

"The fact that when America held the monopoly of the bomb, from 1945 to 1949, it refrained from using it against an open and extremely dangerous enemy—an act of political restraint surely unparalleled in history—is forgotten; while Hiroshima and Nagasaki are presented as purely American (not, as they were, Anglo-American) action."

The italics are mine.

And poor Marghanita Laski! "The Offshore Island" really does upset Mr. Fitzgibbon.

May I say, incidentally, how much hope Peace News gives me in this insane world. Bless you all.—**G. H. HEY**, 20 Bryanston Road, Solihull, Warwicks.

enough strength and variety to bear the weight that is put on it.

The play is greatly assisted by its production, decor and acting. Lindsay Anderson allows the play to develop its own rather slow majestic pace without ever dragging; Jocelyn Herbert's sets have the right blend of economy and grandeur; and the acting, particularly Ian Bannen as Serjeant Musgrave, is excellent.

John Arden's first play "Live Like Pigs" was dismissed by several critics as obscure, and this seems to be responsible for some of the weaknesses in "Serjeant Musgrave's Dance." About halfway through the play the author seems to lose some confidence, so that the third act is really nothing more than a fairly explicit statement of the theme of the play. The statement is not really necessary and halts the dramatic development so that, for instance, the effectiveness of "the case" in opposing the militaristic

CAMPAIGN CORNER

UNIVERSITY RADICALISM

TIRELESS friend of Africans and a Peace News Director, the Rev. Michael Scott failed to gain election as Rector of Glasgow University. But with one sixth of the vote in his favour it is evident that a substantial part of the student community favours a very radical attitude towards world problems.

A thousand Oxford students have been supporting a protest march to the US H-bomb base at Brize Norton. At almost every University and College the CND Society, the Pacifist Society, the Friends, Fellowship of Reconciliation and other peace groups are planning their activities for the New Year, activities in which we want Peace News to play a full part.

Staff, students and groups in university and university towns will be interested to know that Peace News—

- (1) Can provide speakers on Non-Violence, Direct Action, Pacifism, Nuclear Disarmament and similar topics.
- (2) Will send trial copies of the paper free to societies.
- (3) Supplies Peace News on "sale or return" for meetings—with a student selling price of 4d. a copy.
- (4) Has a "Student Rate" of 5s. a quarter for postal subscriptions—and a cheaper—still eight weeks for 2s. 6d. trial offer for new readers.
- (5) Can supply free leaflets, posters and comprehensive literature selections for bookstalls at meetings. (Send for our Housmans Bookshop List.)
- (6) Welcomes news stories of your activities.
- (7) Gives free Diary publicity (see page 7) to your meetings.

We need every reader's help to contact sympathisers in the student community. We want to hear quickly from interested people at every university.

The younger radicals will find a stimulating rallying point in Peace News. H.F.M.

form for the challenge to all methods of warfare.

Important though it is to demonstrate our pacifist convictions, it is essential that the "man in the street" be given the chance to confess his doubts and fears, his faith and hopes, and be met with answers on ground of his own choosing. Public meetings have their undeniable value, but experience has taught us that there is still a great harvest of human aspiration and courage to be reaped on city pavements.—
AILEEN HALLSWORTH, HELENA SHERLOCK, 9 Alan Rd., Withington, Manchester, 20.

The Khrushchev proposals

WE have always complained of the "conspiracy of silence," and of how the press has clamped down on any pacifist news.

There have been four weekly issues of Peace News since Mr. Khrushchev at the United Nations announced Russia's proposals for world disarmament within four years. Dr. Fisher, Archbishop of Canterbury, last week said: "No Christian could possibly have put forward a better plea than this." He added: "No Christian body has yet come out to say 'Well at last somebody has said what every Christian has been praying for for years—total disarmament and full control.'

PPU members who are Christians will be humiliated by the truth of Dr. Fisher's words. If we are pacifists as well as Christians, we hide our heads in shame.

I have looked through the last four numbers of Peace News. I find in "In Perspective" two references to the Russian proposals (Sept. 25 and Oct. 2) that might have been lifted from the "Daily Mail"—perfectly unworthy and irresponsible statements. Sybil Morrison is better in her column of Sept. 25 but rejects the world scheme as being only second rate, compared with Britain's own unilateral disarmament. I submit that the latter might be practical politics in the far distant future, whereas

PIKTO NU GLOBE LINGO IN ROMAN AND HIEROGLIFIS

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town in the late nineteenth century. The miners are on strike and everybody who sees the soldiers thinks they have come to help break it. In fact, the soldiers are deserters who have come on an anti-war crusade. When the serjeant holds what everybody thinks is to be a recruiting campaign, he uses it as an opportunity to preach a sermon on the foolishness of war. ★

John Arden's new play makes an exciting imaginative challenge. Its theme is militarism and anti-militarism. It is no use opposing war, says Arden, in the spirit and by the methods which are used to wage it. If you do the results will be very much the same. Serjeant Musgrave makes this mistake. His driving forces are a sense of duty and order—essentially military concepts—and according to his logic, people must die if the crusade is to be successful. His actions result in the failure of his crusade, the death of two of his soldiers, and his imprisonment, faced with the certainty of being hanged.

What then can we oppose to war? Arden's answer is what he calls "anarchy." "Anarchy" is the rooted stubbornness of ordinary people; in the play symbolised by the girl who gives her favours to the soldiers, and by the striking miners. ★

The great quality of the play is its imaginative depth. By setting it in the late nineteenth century, John Arden is able to suggest the importance of the conflict, since people's sense of moral drama was an essential part of the climate of that time. This is heightened by Serjeant Musgrave's presentation of his anti-war message in a passionate non-conformist, religious spirit—a spirit that had a fine sense of the drama of good and evil and which was at its height in the nineteenth century. Since British anti-war movements have nearly all been in the non-conformist conscience tradition, Serjeant Musgrave is also a comment on them. The background of a strike also helps to develop the play's basic image because, again, the nineteenth century was the time of the head-on fight between capital and labour. Added to this is the fact that the courage and independence of the British working class in the nineteenth century is a very effective symbol of the "anarchy" that John Arden opposes to war. The language of the play with its jingles and ballads has

tion, decor and acting. Lindsay Anderson allows the play to develop its own rather slow majestic pace without ever dragging; Jocelyn Herbert's sets have the right blend of economy and grandeur; and the acting, particularly Ian Bannen as Serjeant Musgrave, is excellent.

John Arden's first play "Live Like Pigs" was dismissed by several critics as obscure, and this seems to be responsible for some of the weaknesses in "Serjeant Musgrave's Dance." About halfway through the play the author seems to lose some confidence, so that the third act is really nothing more than a fairly explicit statement of the theme of the play. The statement is not really necessary and halts the dramatic development so that, for instance, the effectiveness of "anarchy" in opposing the militaristic spirit is not an integral part of the play—we are merely told about it in the dialogue. ★

I do not want to emphasise these criticisms. John Arden's play is a rare achievement—so rare indeed that very few critics have come anywhere near understanding what the play is about. It deserves everybody's support. I hope John Arden's plays are not going to be neglected masterpieces.

cheaper—still eight weeks for 2s. 6d. trial offer for new readers.

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CANON RAVEN ON T.V.

Canon Raven is to appear in BBC Television's "Meeting Point" programme on Remembrance Day (Nov. 8) to answer questions about pacifism. An army chaplain will appear with him. They will be questioned by a Glasgow journalist, Colin Maclean. Canon Raven will be on an "Any Questions Panel" at Bromley Public Library on Nov. 5 at 8 p.m. at a public meeting organised by the local Fellowship of Reconciliation and Council of Churches.

war on want

In Tunisia and Morocco nearly 250,000 Algerian Refugees face death by cold and starvation this winter.

In Japan thousands are dead as a result of the dreadful Typhoon. Thousands more will die if aid is not quickly sent. Homeless and starving, they are threatened by typhoid.

There is a famine in N. Ethiopia. . . . last week children were throwing themselves under the wheels of lorries rather than die of starvation. . . . The granaries of the West are bursting with enough grain to feed all the world for several years.

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In your mercy, please help. Your gift, large or small, will be received with gratitude by the Rt. Hon. Hilary Marquand, P.C., M.A., D.Sc., M.P., Hon. Treasurer, War on Want, 9 Madeley Road, Ealing, W.5.

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ARMS

OF necessity this article will be auto-biographical in nature, and will express some of my thoughts and reactions after eighteen months in India, during which time I have been privileged on numerous occasions to visit people who were close to Gandhi and who continue to apply this spirit and example to the Indian scene.

What has disturbed me (and I know other Western pacifists who have been similarly disturbed) has been the fact that too few of these people voice the same vigorous criticism of the arms build-up of their own country which they enunciate so eloquently as regards the armaments of the big powers.

Certainly this is not always true, but after having engaged in many conversations and numerous discussions with Gandhians, I feel that by far the most common attitude, not only of the Indian people generally, but also of the people who are working in the Gandhian tradition is

- (1) Not to voice forthright opposition to the armed preparedness of India in the face of an armed Pakistan, and
- (2) To explain the situation in which India finds itself in such a way as to justify the armament of India.

I should state here parenthetically that I fully realise how difficult the continuing American military aid to Pakistan makes the situation. I not only deplore the USA aid to Pakistan but as an American citizen both in the United States and abroad I denounce this policy publicly, as well as all American military aid around the globe, and join in efforts through the years with both groups and individuals who seek to change that policy. However, although I deeply sympathise with the difficulties this military aid poses for India, two wrongs never make a right, and this US aid to Pakistan does not basically alter the fact of the military response which it evokes from India.

Western response

AMERICAN and British pacifists who visit India generally feel quite shocked at the above-mentioned two-fold attitude on the part of the Indian believers in non-violence. In the West pacifists strongly and outspokenly oppose and condemn the armament of the

AND THE GANDHIANS

Instead they are highly critical of the policies of their government as contributing to the tensions and insecurities which "require" armed defence.

I recognise one perhaps subtle, but powerful, factor at work in India which at least partially serves to explain this difference between Western and Indian believers in non-violence. In the West, although we love our native land and feel our pacifism to be the expression of the highest form of patriotism, we have nonetheless never been associated in any great common cause with the present leaders of our government. In-

general. And once you realise the nature of the weapons with which a Third World War would be fought and the terrifying speed with which the first move will be made in the extremely small world created by modern science, it is logical (if you accept the need for military preparedness) to regard these preparations as necessary in terms of "defence."

It is important in this context to note that Pakistan feels genuinely threatened by India and insists that India's armed strength is considerably greater than her own. The Hindustan Times for April 6, 1959, carried

By James Bristol

American Quaker James Bristol returned recently to the U.S.A. after 18 months as Quaker International Affairs Representative in Delhi.

stead we have consistently through the years opposed the military policies which they in good conscience feel they must pursue, and have always been on the other side of the fence.

In India, on the other hand, believers in non-violence have been associated in very recent times with the present leaders of the government as comrades, fellow-sufferers, and fellow-prisoners of Gandhi. Therefore it becomes tremendously more difficult to oppose and criticise government policies in India than in the West where such close bonds of friendship and camaraderie do not exist.

Defensive armament

IT may indeed be that Western pacifists are at times so able to see the faults and shortcomings of their own government's position that they fail to understand sufficiently the justification for that position, even becoming at times more aware of the justification for the position of a hostile government than of their own. Although the superficial criticism that accuses American pacifists of being "pro-Russian" or "pro-Communist" is inaccurate, there may be at times a measure of truth in the accusation that the American pacifist tends to underestimate the

a news story with an April 5 date line from Karachi, the headline reading: "Pak Jet Fleet will be One-Third of India's."

The news dispatch went on to state that the American supply of 25 light jet bombers to Pakistan would give Pakistan a jet fleet one-third the size of that possessed by India. India had about eighty bombers of a similar type from Britain, the report said. I have no idea as to the authenticity of this statement, but it is important to realise how the situation looks from the other side of the fence.

What I would urge my Indian friends to recognise is that morally and in terms of basic attitudes there is no difference between threatening a potential enemy with a club, a Canberra bomber, or a hydrogen bomb.

Obviously the destructive effects are increasingly greater, and in the case of the hydrogen bomb even fall-out from testing can harm innocent people thousands of miles away, but morally the position is the same. When you justify the acquisition of jet bombers, you have opened the gates for hydrogen bombs, guided missiles, and everything that spells ultimate and devastating tragedy for the human race. Understandably the so-called "conventional" weapons look far less destructive by comparison with ballistic missiles and nuclear weapons, but during World War II the destruction of

in the streets, or even in terms of guerrilla warfare. We think of the underground which operates for freedom in totalitarian countries and in the colonial areas of the world, and even if we are deeply dedicated to non-violence and are conscientious objectors to war ourselves, we admire the courage of the violent resisters and clearly regard them as infinitely more moral than the cowards.

Once, however, you accept this principle and apply it all the way, you have really given moral sanction to the staggering brutality and destruction of the Second World War and to the possible obliteration of mankind in a nuclear war. India must resist the evil in Pakistan with Canberra bombers and similar preparations (and it is always implicit in military preparedness that the weapons being amassed *will be used* if necessary), and both the United States and the Soviet Union must resist the evil which they see in the other with nuclear warfare preparations—and with the use of these weapons if necessary. Thus the dilemma becomes more and more difficult with every moment of increasing military preparation whether in America or Europe or Asia.

Certainly the alternative to today's mass organised "defensive" violence is *not* to surrender to tyranny and injustice and oppression, but to hasten the day when effective non-violent resistance to evil can be offered. This lays heavily upon all believers in non-violence the urgent necessity of creating a Shanti Sena (Peace Army) as Vinoba Bhave and others are steadfastly striving to do, which will be large enough and disciplined enough to offer effective resistance, even to an invading army. It also underlines the urgency to create a Sarvodaya society, one based on justice, mutual service, and freedom and equality for all, which will produce peace and harmony as inevitably as our present social order produces distrust and tension and the crises that lead to war.

What do we do?

The question which is perhaps as old as the human race, of course, persists: What do we do in the meantime?

One thing it seems to me we do *not* do is to support or justify the military preparations of our own nation—be it America or England or Russia or India.

all American military aid around the globe, and join in efforts through the years with both groups and individuals who seek to change that policy. However, although I deeply sympathise with the difficulties this military aid poses for India, two wrongs never make a right, and this US aid to Pakistan does not basically alter the fact of the military response which it evokes from India.

Western response

AMERICAN and British pacifists who visit India generally feel quite shocked at the above-mentioned two-fold attitude on the part of the Indian believers in non-violence. In the West pacifists strongly and outspokenly oppose and work against the armament of their own country (and this was true long before the invention of nuclear weapons, since World War I) Western pacifists have taken exactly the same position against the conventional armaments of their own countries, and are still opposed to conventional weapons today.

Nor do Western pacifists defend and explain the position of their own country as "necessitating" an armaments programme.

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bonds of friendship and camaraderie do not exist.

Defensive armament

IT may indeed be that Western pacifists are at times so able to see the faults and shortcomings of their own government's position that they fail to understand sufficiently the justification for that position, even becoming at times more aware of the justification for the position of a hostile government than of their own.

Although the superficial criticism that accuses American pacifists of being "pro-Russian" or "pro-Communist" is inaccurate, there may be at times a measure of truth in the accusation that the American pacifist understands the position of the Russian government and people almost better than he does that of his own.

Thus American pacifists are able to point out quite tellingly how genuinely the Russians feel threatened by the encirclement of their homeland by American air bases. Many Indian believers in non-violence, however, seem so closely identified with the position of their own government and their own people that they go so far as to justify and defend the arms build-up in India, including the purchase of Canberra bombers, and the building of fighter planes in Bangalore. Nor are they able to see the situation through the eyes of the "average Pakistani" and sense the threat which India's Army and Air Force pose for him.

Here it seems to me is the Achilles' heel in India's foreign policy. Her "defensive" armament in the face of a genuine threat from Pakistan undercuts in a decisive and extremely tragic way her efforts to ensure world peace and secure world disarmament. Even her attempts to bring an end to nuclear weapon tests are vitiated by her own arms build-up.

It appears tragically true that India has essentially the same attitude in relation to a potential enemy that obtains in the United States and the Soviet Union.

All nations and people are always sincerely peace loving in their own eyes. They can see clearly the faults and shortcomings of other nations and the fact that in any other conflict situation than the one in which they are immediately involved both parties bear a share of the blame and guilt. In their own conflict, however, matters are always "different." In their own conflict they are always arming "defensively."

It may sound ridiculous to assert that United States military and air bases encircling the globe are "defensive," yet they are honestly felt to be so by Americans

What I would urge my Indian friends to recognise is that morally and in terms of basic attitudes there is no difference between threatening a potential enemy with a club, a Canberra bomber, or a hydrogen bomb.

Obviously the destructive effects are increasingly greater, and in the case of the hydrogen bomb even fall-out from testing can harm innocent people thousands of miles away, but morally the position is the same. When you justify the acquisition of jet bombers, you have opened the gates for hydrogen bombs, guided missiles, and everything that spells ultimate and devastating tragedy for the human race. Understandably the so-called "conventional" weapons look far less destructive by comparison with ballistic missiles and nuclear weapons, but during World War II the destruction of Rotterdam, of Coventry, of Warsaw, the obliteration bombing of German cities, and the devastation of Japanese cities, except for Hiroshima and Nagasaki, was all accomplished by what we now call "conventional" weapons.

The justification for India's conventional armaments build-up which even followers of Gandhi have voiced to me is therefore also a justification for the inhuman destruction of the Second World War.

It should also be borne in mind that both the Soviet Union and the United States have largely discarded conventional weapons and are prepared now to "defend themselves" almost entirely with nuclear weapons.

To urge the nuclear disarmament of these nations (which I most emphatically do) is therefore in effect to reduce them to the same "helpless" position militarily to which India would be reduced if she abandoned her conventional weapons.

This realisation may serve to underline the way in which India's insistence upon increasing her military strength undercuts so completely her efforts to assist in the achievement of nuclear disarmament among the big powers.

Terrifying dilemma

VERY often in such a discussion in India I have been reminded that Gandhi himself stated that it was a higher moral position to resist evil with violence than to be a coward and to surrender to evil forces.

No one would disagree with the truth of this Gandhian insight, but it does pose a terrifying dilemma, especially in the age of jet bombers, guided missiles, and nuclear weapons.

Often, I believe, we think of these words of Gandhi in terms of hand-to-hand fighting

and disciplined enough to offer effective resistance, even to an invading army. It also underlines the urgency to create a Sarvodaya society, one based on justice, mutual service, and freedom and equality for all, which will produce peace and harmony as inevitably as our present social order produces distrust and tension and the crises that lead to war.

What do we do?

The question which is perhaps as old as the human race, of course, persists: What do we do in the meantime?

One thing it seems to me we do *not* do is to support or justify the military preparations of our own nation—be it America or England or Russia or India.

We do *not* wait for the achievement of Shanti Sena or the realisation of the Sarvodaya* society before opposing vigorously the military preparedness of our own nation, for while we are waiting the military mind and the reliance upon military measures for security are laying hold upon an increasing number of our fellow citizens.

It is already far more difficult for the world to disarm than it was ten years ago. It is more difficult for any single nation to disarm now than it was ten years ago. It will be even harder five or ten years from now than it is today.

Therefore, we must keep alive our protests and make our opposition to the military preparedness of our own country vocal and vigorous, working at the same time for the achievement of Shanti Sena and the Sarvodaya society, which will be easier to achieve to the extent that our country is less committed to a policy of military defence.

If an enemy invades or a hostile nation strikes before we have achieved our goals, then we still remain small pockets of people committed completely to non-violent opposition to all forms of evil and tyranny.

We resist the evil within our own nation. We resist the evil in the invading army. We resist the evil of a hostile and oppressive regime fastened upon us.

Moreover, this we do realising that our resistance may not prove effective in the immediate scene and that we and our families may suffer imprisonment, torture, or even death. This we do undergirded by the faith that no action of this sort is ever entirely lost in the long stream of history, and that the world moves on a bit faster toward a just and free and decent society because of those who try to hold as close to the ideal as possible.

*Sarvodaya: The welfare of all.

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MEETINGS

SCIENCE AND RELIGION—A Biologist's Approach. Speaker, Anna M. Bidder. Sunday, Nov. 1 at 6.30 p.m., Friends House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1.

SYDNEY SILVERMAN, M.P., on "Present Penal Problems": Friends House, Euston Road, London, N.W.1., November 5 at 6.30 p.m. A Public Meeting, arranged by Friends' Penal Reform Committee.

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LITERATURE

CONTACT—South African Liberal fortnightly with inside news of the struggle against apartheid and colonialism. 6 months 12s., 12 months £1 2s. 6d. Box 1979, Cape Town, South Africa.

We must resist military imperialism too!

By Fenner Brockway, MP Chairman, Movement for Colonial Freedom

ONE reason why President de Gaulle does not desire an early "Summit" Conference is that he wants to explode his Bomb in the Sahara first. It is a matter of prestige. The "Summit" might decide on no more tests. Then he would no longer have the opportunity to demonstrate that France belongs to the Top Powers.

How childish! How *incredibly* childish! Yet it reflects part of the mind of present-day statesmanship. A nation's place in the world is judged by its military power. By its power to destroy.

This may well be the last assertion of this claim. We are passing from the destruction test to the production test. Both are matters of science.

New scientific processes made possible the atom bomb and the hydrogen bomb. But they have also made possible nuclear power to drive industry, automation, electronic computers and new substances like plastics, which are ousting the old costly metals.

New imperialisms

Before the end of this century, the place of nations in the world will be judged by the speed and thoroughness of their adaptation of this new industrial revolution.

The imperial Powers will be not those which possess territories or military bases or missile testing stations about the earth, but those which produce wealth in such abundance that they can say *yea* or *nay* to the well-being of distant peoples.

This transition in the means of power will inevitably follow the widening conviction that we must stop nuclear armament. At this moment America could end human life in Russia and Russia could end human life in America. Of what value would that be to either? In the process they would also end human life over a large part of Europe, including Britain, and other parts of the world. Slowly the nations are realising the senselessness of all this.

The danger remains so long as nuclear armament remains; an accident, a stupidity passing beyond control, could bring the destruction to mankind which is now possible; this is why we must all be continually vigilant and challenging.

But, barring these untoward events, I believe the historical decision has been made.

not contaminate underground waters which rise to the surface in faraway places or that the wind will not carry affected particles of sand hundreds of miles to distant territories?), intolerable also because the explosion is planned on another continent whose populations have made it clear that they want no part in the insanity of the civilisations of Europe, and the East and the West, which have prepared this instrument of annihilation.

The protest should not be left to the peoples of Africa. They have raised their voices in splendid anger—the Arab nations of the North, the peoples of Nigeria, Ghana and Guinea on the West Coast, the union of the independent Governments of the Continent, the all-Africa Peoples' Conference. Even within the French Community of African States the voice of protest has been raised.

Voices at U.N.

How can the United Nations be silent? One prays that the Afro-Asian delegations will be successful in raising the issue boldly in the General Assembly.

It is the duty of all of us, wherever we may be, to demand that the delegations of our countries shall support the demand that this crime shall not be committed.

We British people have a special responsibility. Nigeria is a British colony. Ghana is a member of the Commonwealth. Some of us will raise the matter in Parliament at the first opportunity. We must have demonstrations of support from the British people. But the impact of nuclear armament on the colonies is not only exemplified in the Sahara test. Scattered over the colonial territories are military bases planned for a nuclear war.

As I write, news is reported of a temporary breakdown in the constitutional talks about the future of Cyprus. The occasion for this is the discovery that an attempt has been made by some Turks to smuggle arms into Cyprus. But the rising revolt of opinion against the terms of the Zurich Agreement, which brought an uncertain peace to the

of Cyprus when it becomes independent. A similar dissent is now emerging in Trinidad in the West Indies against the American base at Chagaramas, leased by the British for some worthless and obsolete gunboats during the war.

The Socialist Government of Singapore is becoming increasingly concerned by the extensive trespass of the British bases on its island. The same issue will arise in Aden and the Arab Protectorates around it. The African movement in Kenya will not be permanently content with the expanding bases on its territory.

The protest against military colonialism is now arising as a companion to the protest against political colonialism.

No nation can be really free whilst foreign bases are imposed on its territory.

We have some American bases in Britain. I am one of those who object to them; I made this clear during the recent election. But in Britain a democratically elected Parliament has endorsed their presence and the British people in more than one election have concurred. Many of us believe them to be a menace, but they are not imposed on us by a colonial régime or as a condition for the enjoyment of self-government in other spheres.

When bases go

A moral duty will fall on the military Powers as their need for bases is reduced; the livelihood of many has become associated with the maintenance of the airports and dockyards, and, when they are evacuated, there will be an obligation to assist in establishing alternative occupations. And this must be done in accordance with the wishes of the people. Malta is an example of how *not* to do it. True, the British Government, when the naval dockyard was no longer required, transferred it to a British firm for civilian purposes; but this was done over the heads of the Maltese whilst their parliament was suppressed.

Every nation has the right to determine its economic destiny. It is a denial of basic freedom if industrial schemes are



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SITUATIONS VACANT

PEACE NEWS OFFICE is open up to 9 p.m. every Wednesday evening for the sale of books and stationery, and for voluntary help with the despatch of Peace News. Visitors welcomed (Mon. to Fri. 8.30 a.m. to 5.30 p.m.) 5 Caledonian Rd., London, N.1.

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SUNDAYS

BRADFORD: 8 p.m. Hall Ings Car Park. Open Air Mtg. Bradford PYAG.

GLASGOW: Sundays 8 p.m. Queens Park Gates, Victoria Rd., Open Air Forum; PPU.

SATURDAYS AND SUNDAYS

LONDON: 3 p.m. Speakers' Corner, Hyde Park, W.1. Sybil Morrison, Stuart Morris, Myrtle Solomon, Harry Marsh. PPU.

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TUESDAYS

MANCHESTER: 1-2 p.m. Deansgate Blitz Site Christian Pacifist open-air meeting. MPF.

WEDNESDAYS

LONDON: 7 p.m., 5 Caledonian Rd., N.1. Pacifist Youth Action Group.

that we must stop nuclear armament. At this moment America could end human life in Russia and Russia could end human life in America. Of what value would that be to either? In the process they would also end human life over a large part of Europe, including Britain, and other parts of the world. Slowly the nations are realising the senselessness of all this.

The danger remains so long as nuclear armament remains; an accident, a stupidity passing beyond control, could bring the destruction to mankind which is now possible; this is why we must all be continually vigilant and challenging.

But, barring these untoward events, I believe the historical decision has been made in men's minds. Governments, reflecting their peoples, will, with much manoeuvring and a good deal of obstruction from obsolete interests, turn their backs on war in the coming years. They cannot do anything else if man is to survive.

The relation of this transition to the colonial peoples is very close.

The Sahara test is the last throw of a dying gambler.

It is an intolerable outrage—intolerable not only because it may spread mutilation and death (what scientist dare say it will

sibility. Nigeria is a British colony. Ghana is a member of the Commonwealth. Some of us will raise the matter in Parliament at the first opportunity. We must have demonstrations of support from the British people. But the impact of nuclear armament on the colonies is not only exemplified in the Sahara test. Scattered over the colonial territories are military bases planned for a nuclear war.

As I write, news is reported of a temporary breakdown in the constitutional talks about the future of Cyprus. The occasion for this is the discovery that an attempt has been made by some Turks to smuggle arms into Cyprus. But the rising revolt of opinion against the terms of the Zurich Agreement, which brought an uncertain peace to the island, goes much deeper than that.

The main cause of discontent is the concession required by Britain that Cyprus should allow military bases to be established on the island.

The proposed bases are unpopular because, as planned at present, they will incorporate Cypriot villages and menace a large part of the agricultural production of Cyprus. But behind these complaints is a wider dissent founded on an unwillingness to have foreign bases at all on the territory

A moral duty will fall on the military Powers as their need for bases is reduced; the livelihood of many has become associated with the maintenance of the airports and dockyards, and, when they are evacuated, there will be an obligation to assist in establishing alternative occupations. And this must be done in accordance with the wishes of the people. Malta is an example of how *not* to do it. True, the British Government, when the naval dockyard was no longer required, transferred it to a British firm for civilian purposes; but this was done over the heads of the Maltese whilst their parliament was suppressed.

Every nation has the right to determine its economic destiny. It is a denial of basic freedom if industrial schemes are imposed without consultation and agreement.

In the world of extending disarmament, towards which we shall move, military colonialism should become a dwindling power; but it may be the last citadel to fall. Imperial power will not automatically disappear with the easing of the conflict between the two Power blocs. Our struggle to end colonialism in all its forms must go on.

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Thursday, November 12

LONDON, E.11: 8 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd. Peace Forum: Any Questions? Claud Colman, Sybil Morrison, Allen Skinner, Eric Tucker. Chair: Stuart Morris. Standing Joint Pacifist Cttee.

Friday, November 13

HULL: 7.30 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Percy St. Open Forum. Panel: Rev. W. Gill, Rev. W. R. G. Sargent, C. Brady, Stuart Morris. Question Master: Violet Mitchell. Adm. free. Collection. PPU.

Tuesday, November 3

MANSFIELD: 7.15 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Quaker Ln. "Peace in the Nuclear Age"; Stuart Morris. PPU.

Wednesday, November 4

BELFAST: 8 p.m. Friends' Institute, Frederick St. "An International Seminar in Poland"; Geoffrey Carnall, FoR.

ST. LEONARD'S-ON-SEA: 7 p.m. 78a Norman Rd. "Resist not Evil"; Stuart Morris. (Tape Recording). Chair: Minnie Pallister. Bring & Buy Stall. PPU.

Thursday, November 5

LONDON, E.11: 8 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Bushwood. "The Few and the Many"; Arthur Hadley. PPU.

Saturday, November 7 - Sunday, November 8

MATLOCK, Derbys: "The Briars." Vegetarian Guest Ho., Crich Conference — "Penal Practice in a Changing Society — Past, Present & Future." Speaker: Frank Dawtry. Details: Miss E. Cullingsworth, 81 Clarendon Pk. Rd., Leicester. PPU.

Sunday, November 8

LONDON, W.C.1: 3.30 p.m. Friends International Centre, 32 Tavistock Sq. Pacifist Universalist Service. "Theology & Christian Pacifism". Discourse: Dr. A. D. Belden. PPU Religion Comm.

Monday, November 9

BIRMINGHAM: 8 p.m., 221 Vicarage Rd., Kings Heath. Mtg. of Kings Heath & Cotteridge PPU.

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SUPPORT has come from as far away as Edinburgh and London for the Coast-to-Coast Youth March which leaves Liverpool at noon on Boxing Day and arrives in Hull on Jan. 3. Here Eric Green explains

WHY WE ARE MARCHING

Always the cry of youth has been for the chance of a better life than that known to their forbears. Not so many years ago many young people gave their lives in order to safeguard the future, and look where we are now. They gave their lives hopelessly, misguided in their enthusiasm by the governments of their day. But if we persist in supporting the present nuclear weapon policy we are traitors to their idealism no matter how misguided were the means of attaining those ideals of peace and a prosperous future.

We are not inarticulate in our cry. Our future will be one of peace for we demand that the "gates of war" be closed for ever, that all nuclear weapons now possessed by our country be abolished, that no nuclear weapons shall remain on our soil, and that all rocket bases be dismantled. We further demand that all capital made available by such measures be used in prevention of unemployment, industrial and social development and the development of the backward and unproductive areas of the world.

We love our country and the world in which we live and we are not prepared to see it become dust and ashes. We are not prepared to give our consent to the destruction of land, homes, harvests and people.

We are marching into the future for freedom and humanity. Nothing can stand in our way or turn us around for we have caught a great vision and we possess a

BEATING THE COLOUR-BAR IN MIAMI

Jim Peck's "Letter from the USA" gets news headlines this week for its story of a months-long non-violent action in Florida. The writer was a member of the crew of the "Golden Rule" which last year attempted to sail into the Pacific H-bomb testing area. He has volunteered to join the international protest team going to the Sahara testing area.

NEVER prior to this spring had the sit-in technique of combatting the colour bar in restaurants been used as far south as Miami, Florida, America's biggest year-round vacation resort. The furthest south it had been employed until then was in cities over 1,000 miles northward.

True, Miami is sometimes described as "south of the south" to differentiate it from its geographic location. It has many permanent residents who have migrated from the north and mid-west, not to speak of the hordes of sun-seeking vacationists. But the deep-south pattern of total racial segregation prevails.

In such a locale it was big news on April 29 when 20 Negroes and whites sat down at Grant's lunch counter and remained there though they were refused service. Reporters, photographers and TV men were out in force to cover this unprecedented event.

first target

Thus opened the initial campaign by a newly-formed Miami affiliate of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), an organisation devoted to Gandhian, non-violent action against racial discrimination. The lunch counters were chosen as the group's first target because the pattern of discrimination there seemed especially paradoxical. Negroes are permitted to eat—next to whites—standing up but not sitting down. They can eat at stand-up sections of the counters but not at the main sections which have stools. There is no downtown Miami lunch counter where a United States Negro can sit down for a meal, though some serve Spanish-speaking Latin-Americans of equally



12 participants in a CORE-sponsored Inter-racial Action Institute who came from various parts of the country to learn about non-violent action both in theory and practice. The practice came with the sit-ins which at that juncture were centred at the lunch

LETTER FROM AMERICA



By JIM PECK

counter of Jackson's-Byrons Department Store.

Six days of continuous sit-ins caused management to close the counter temporarily while considering a policy change. During that period the sit-ins were transferred to Grant's. The day before the Institute's conclusion, management's attorney promised an immediate policy change. Institute participants left for their homes, elated, but before most of them had reached their destinations a test at the reopened lunch counter proved that management had not acted in good faith. Negroes were still refused service.

So the group determined to return every day. The lunch counter had about 40 seats and on September 23, 40 persons were sitting-in. Two days later there were 80 volunteers: half of them had to go to Grant's.

MOVEMENT NEWS IN BRIEF

A part of their World Refugee Year for Control of Radiation Hazards (Box

our country be abolished, that no nuclear weapons shall remain on our soil, and that all rocket bases be dismantled. We further demand that all capital made available by such measures be used in prevention of unemployment, industrial and social development and the development of the backward and unproductive areas of the world.

We love our country and the world in which we live and we are not prepared to see it become dust and ashes. We are not prepared to give our consent to the destruction of land, homes, harvests and people.

We are marching into the future for freedom and humanity. Nothing can stand in our way or turn us around for we have caught a great vision and we possess a tremendous faith. Are you with us?

* * * * *

The route of the march is as follows: Liverpool-Prescot-St. Helens-Wigan-Bolton-Bury - Rochdale - Littleborough - Halifax-Bradford - Leeds - Castleford - Pontefract-Nottingham - Snaith - Goole-Howden-South Cave-Hessle-Hull.

We shall most likely be sleeping in church halls with only a sleeping bag or blankets to keep us warm. We shall obtain and prepare our own food unless people make offers of food in the towns and cities through which we shall pass. If possible you should bring your own cooking utensils. Warm clothes and rainwear will be absolutely essential. As you will gather, this march is only for those who can take the very worst of conditions in their stride.

We are urgently in need of funds to organise this march and prepare our literature and publicity. Any small donations will be very welcome.

If you wish to participate in this march write to Secretary of the Sheffield Youth Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (Send S.A.E.), Eric L. Green, 31, Lamb Hill Close, Richmond, Sheffield 13. (Tel. 396634.)

It's tonight!

AFTER THE ELECTION . . .

A meeting for all Peace News readers, supporters and sellers at Peace News, 5 Caledonian Rd., N.1 (nr. King's Cross), Friday, October 30, 6.30-8 p.m. Alan Lovell (Assistant Editor, Peace News):

Where do we go from here?

isation devoted to Gandhian, non-violent action against racial discrimination. The lunch counters were chosen as the group's first target because the pattern of discrimination there seemed especially paradoxical. Negroes are permitted to eat—next to whites—standing up but not sitting down. They can eat at stand-up sections of the counters but not at the main sections which have stools. There is no downtown Miami lunch counter where a United States Negro can sit down for a meal, though some serve Spanish-speaking Latin-Americans of equally

public support

Of 100 white passers-by interviewed, 98 not only had no objection to Negroes being served, seated, but were unaware of the existence of the prevailing policy.

Another indication of public readiness is the fact that during recent sit-ins at Grant's white customers would take seats next to the interracial groups sitting-in, without paying the slightest attention.

During the first two weeks in September the CORE group's ranks were reinforced by

management to close the counter temporarily while considering a policy change. During that period the sit-ins were transferred to Grant's. The day before the Institute's conclusion, management's attorney promised an immediate policy change. Institute participants left for their homes, elated, but before most of them had reached their destinations a test at the reopened lunch counter proved that management had not acted in good faith. Negroes were still refused service.

So the group determined to return every day. The lunch counter had about 40 seats and on September 23, 40 persons were sitting-in. Two days later there were 80 volunteers: half of them had to go to Grant's.

It is not easy to get that number of people on a weekday to sit-in from 10 a.m. to 3 p.m., but CORE maintained these daily demonstrations for an entire week.

One woman, who sat-in daily, worked at a night-shift job. Cab drivers and off-duty Negro policemen joined the group at the counter. Fairminded Miamians were tired of this kind of segregation and were ready to combat it at great personal sacrifice.

But, also on September 23, Gordon Carey, CORE field secretary, was attacked and roughed-up upon leaving the rest room and warned to "get out of Miami by Monday." A couple of days later, two CORE members, one of whom is a disabled war veteran, were dragged from their seats, severely beaten and then arrested along with their assailant.

Dr. John Brown, a well-known Negro ophthalmologist who heads the lunch counter campaign, was threatened in his office by an ex-convict who said he "had been contacted by some people to do something about you and the organisation."

Immediately following these incidents the Jackson's-Byrons' lunch counter was closed permanently and the equipment dismantled. The state attorney general issued an opinion that restaurants have a right to arbitrarily refuse service to anybody—a legal doctrine opposite to that prevailing in most other states.

A court challenge of this ruling has been promised by CORE. Meanwhile, the lunch counter campaign continues. "We are going to use the same means of non-violence which we have followed thus far," Dr. Brown says.

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MOVEMENT NEWS IN BRIEF

AS part of their World Refugee Year effort the Oxford Committee for Famine Relief is looking for homes for 100 model children—papier maché ones, ten inches high!

Each model is a ragged refugee boy holding an empty bowl, with a slot through which coins may pass into the boy's "stomach."

It is not intended for private houses but is ideal for shop counters, hotel reception desks, etc.

Support continues to grow for the vigil being maintained outside America's germ warfare plant at Fort Detrick. It is helping to counter "Operation Blue Skies," a public relations campaign by the US Army Chemical Corps "to sell the American people on the use of biological and chemical weapons in wartime," says WRL News. The Society for Social Responsibility in Science has unanimously voted to help find other jobs for "any of our scientific colleagues who come to feel that their work on bacterial war is morally wrong."



The S.W. Essex Youth CND are to march from Southend Pier to Landwick, nearest point to the Foulness Atomic Weapons Research Establishment, on Nov. 7. Coaches are being organised from the Wanstead-Woodford area and by the National Youth CND. Times: Pier 1.45 p.m.; Landwick 3.45 p.m.; Great Wakering 4.30 p.m. Information from Andrew Trasler, 47 Ashurst Drive, Ilford, Essex.

At midsummer, 1958, the average level of strontium-90 fall-out for 15 Canadian cities was almost 50 per cent above the average level in the USA, according to "Facts on Fall-out," a leaflet published in Canada by the Saskatoon Committee

for Control of Radiation Hazards (Box 61, Sub P.O. 13, Saskatoon, Sask.)

An attempt is being made in France to raise \$10,000 so that an Albanian refugee family, 15-strong, can be moved from Yugoslavia to France. Relatives already in France have given their savings (400,000 French francs) to this World Refugee Year project sponsored by CIMADE, action group of the French Protestant and Orthodox Churches.

War Resisters' International General Secretary Arlo Tatum is now in the USA on a lecture tour, visiting New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Washington DC, and San Francisco. He will fly to New York to participate in the Prisoners for Peace Day demonstration at the UN Headquarters. He will be back in England on Jan. 4.



A Birmingham (UK) Pacifist Joint Standing Committee has been set up under the chairmanship of Quaker Robert Davis. It unites local members of the Peace Pledge Union, Fellowship of Reconciliation and Quakers. First joint action was to write to the local press urging that Mr. Khrushchev's disarmament offer is not rejected out of hand. They hope to publish a news sheet and establish groups in the suburbs.

IN PN NEXT WEEK

● **Christian Co-existence—or Co-operation?**

E. Philip Eastman sums up on the recent World Council of Churches Meeting in Rhodes.

● **The London CND Conference.**

● **Facts, news and views for campaigners everywhere.**